

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DAKAR 03566 01 OF 03 112123Z  
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INR-10 SS-15 SP-02 EUR-12 ARA-10  
SY-05 PM-05 HA-05 IO-13 MCE-00 /088 W  
-----074819 120017Z /73  
R 111521Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4077

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 DAKAR 3566

STADIS FOR AF/W //////////////////////////////////

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP, SG (SENGHOR, PRESIDENT LEOPOLD S.)  
SUBJECT: SENGHOR VISIT: EMBASSY INPUT FOR BRIEFING MEMORANDA

1. HERE ARE OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR BRIEFING MEMORANDA TO BE  
PREPARED FOR PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY PRIOR TO THEIR MEETINGS  
WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR JUNE 8.

2. COURTESY POINTS --  
REINFORCE PRESIDENT'S EARLIER TELEGRAPHED CONGRATULATIONS FOR  
SENGHOR'S ELECTION VICTORY WITH POSITIVE WORDS ABOUT MULTI-  
PARTY BALLOT CHARACTERIZED BY UNINHIBITED OPPOSITION PARTY  
ACCESS TO NEWS MEDIA. SENEGAL'S VERY GOOD OVERALL RECORD ON  
HUMAN RIGHTS -- BOTH AT HOME AND AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL --  
SHOULD EQUALLY BE EMPHASIZED.

3. EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR SENEGAL'S OUTSTANDING ASSISTANCE  
AND HOSPITALITY FOR THREE RECENT US MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS:  
THREE-SHIP COMSOLANT NAVAL VISIT IN FEBRUARY; BACKUP  
AIRCRAFT FOR PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO NIGERIA AND LIBERIA;  
AND AIR FORCE (ARIA) SATELLITE TRACKING PLANES MAKING  
THREE-WEEK VISIT IN MAY. ALL THREE EVENTS REQUIRED  
MAJOR EFFORT BY SENEGALESE SERVICES WHO RESPONDED WITH  
UNQUALIFIED ENTHUSIASM. THIS IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DAKAR 03566 01 OF 03 112123Z

DAKAR FACILITIES ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY NECESSARY  
FOR US SHIP AND AIRCRAFT MOVEMENTS.

4. SUBSTANTIVE POINTS --  
BACKGROUND -- PRESIDENT SENGHOR HAS INFORMED VISITORS,  
INCLUDING AMB. ANDREW YOUNG, THAT AFRICANS ARE FAVORABLY  
DISPOSED TOWARD PRESIDENT CARTER. AS RELIGIOUS PEOPLE

THEMSELVES, AFRICANS APPRECIATE JIMMY CARTER AS A TRULY RELIGIOUS PERSON, ACCORDING TO SENGHOR. IN ADDITION, SENGHOR SAYS AFRICANS ARE IMPRESSED BY CARTER'S HAVING BEEN BROUGHT UP IN THE SOUTH WHERE HE SUCCESSFULLY FACED UP TO THE CHALLENGE OF RACISM. UNDER SENGHOR'S THEORY OF CULTURAL MISCEGENATION, CARTER'S UPBRINGING AMONG BLACKS IN THE SOUTH PROVIDED HIM WITH A PARTIAL CULTURAL HERITAGE OF NEGRITUDE. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, SENGHOR FINDS IT ABSOLUTELY NATURAL THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS INTENSIFIED USG OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND HAS MADE MAJORITY RULE FOR RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA TOP PRIORITY ITEMS IN US POLICY. SENGHOR SUPPORTS US PROPOSALS ON BOTH RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. IN A LARGER SENSE, SENGHOR VIEWS ALL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS FROM THE OPTIC OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS WHICH FOR HIM IS ESSENTIALLY A CULTURAL PHENOMENON. SOME LIBERAL OBSERVERS WHO REJECT SENGHOR BECAUSE OF HIS UNREVOLUTIONARY DEMEANOR, FAIL TO UNDERSTAND THAT HE IS SECOND TO NONE WHEN IT COMES TO BLACK PRIDE AND SOLIDARITY. THE HIGH VOLTAGE ETHNIC ELECTRICITY GENERATED HERE WHEN ANDREW YOUNG PAID A CALL PROVIDED AMPLE EVIDENCE. THE THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN BLACKS VISITING SENEGAL EACH YEAR ON "ROOTS" CHARTER TOURS ARE NOT DISAPPOINTED IN THIS RESPECT.

5. STRATEGIC QUESTIONS --  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DAKAR 03566 01 OF 03 112123Z

WHILE SUPPORTING US PROPOSALS FOR RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND CHARACTERIZING THE US POSITION ON THE HORN AS EXCELLENT, PRESIDENT SENGHOR FEELS THAT OVERALL AMERICAN STRATEGIC THINKING ABOUT AFRICA IS MUDDLED. WHEN SENGHOR SAYS THIS HE ARGUES THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT TAKE SERIOUSLY ENOUGH THE SOVIET-CUBAN THREAT TO AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE, ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE MODERATE STATES. HIS EVIDENCE CONSISTS OF THE US INABILITY OR REFUSAL TO ASSIST MODERATES IN THREE SITUATIONS WHICH HE CHARACTERIZES AS SOVIET AGGRESSION: ANGOLA, SHABA AND MORE RECENTLY THE WESTERN SAHARA. HE ARGUES THAT BY REFUSING TO HELP MODERATES, THE UNITED STATES IS GIVING THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA A GREEN LIGHT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ANY UNSTABLE SITUATION TO KNOCK OFF MODERATES ONE AT A TIME.

6. SENGHOR FEELS SOME SENSE OF SECURITY FROM THE FRENCH WILLINGNESS TO PLAY A ROLE, BUT HE BELIEVES THERE ARE LIMITS TO WHAT FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION WILL ALLOW GISCARD TO DO IN THE MILITARY AREA. HE DISAGREES WITH VISITORS LIKE ANDREW YOUNG WHO SAY THAT AFRICA IS TOO BIG FOR A CUBA TO CONQUER AND THAT AFRICA WILL REJECT CUBAN HEGE-

MONEY THE WAY IT REJECTED EARLIER COLONIALISM. SENGHOR FEELS THAT SUPERIOR CUBAN FORCES ARE IRRESISTABLE, AND ONCE INSIDE A COUNTRY WILL FIND A WAY TO LINK UP WITH AN ACCOMMODATING FACTION TO STAY INSIDE AND KEEP THAT FACTION IN POWER AS IN BRAZZAVILLE, ANGOLA AND EQUATORIAL GUINEA. THE ELEMENT OF FEAR IS GREATER THAN MOST OUTSIDE OBSERVERS CAN REALLY UNDERSTAND.

7. SENGHOR WILL PROBABLY MAKE THE FOREGOING ARGUMENT ABOUT US STRATEGY IN AFRICA AND THEN SAY THAT HE IS NOT ASKING FOR US TROOPS. ALL HE IS ASKING FOR, SENGHOR WILL SAY, IS FOR THE US TO PROVIDE MODERATES WITH THE HARDWARE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. IN PARTICULAR, WE SHOULD SELL COUNTER-INSURGENCY ITEMS TO MOROCCO FOR USE IN  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 DAKAR 03566 01 OF 03 112123Z

THE WESTERN SAHARA. IN REPLY, EMBASSY RECOMMENDS PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DAKAR 03566 02 OF 03 112346Z  
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INR-10 SS-15 SP-02 EUR-12 ARA-10  
SY-05 PM-05 HA-05 IO-13 MCE-00 /088 W  
-----076091 120018Z /73

R 111521Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4078

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 DAKAR 3566

STADIS FOR AF/W //////////////////////////////////

-- WE ARE TAKING TOUGHER LINE TOWARD SOVIET  
MILITARY INTERVENTION IN AFRICA AS REVEALED  
BY PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN SPOKANE, WASHINGTON  
ON MAY 5.  
-- THERE ARE CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC CONSTRAINTS  
ON THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO AREAS OF REGIONAL  
CONFLICT. AND WE DO HAVE A LONGSTANDING ARMS SUPPLY

RELATIONSHIP WITH MOROCCO WHICH IS CONTINUING.

-- HOWEVER, WHERE POSSIBLE, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO PROVIDE MODEST DEFENSE ASSISTANCE TO OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS, SUCH AS LAST YEAR'S FMS LOAN TO SENEGAL TO RE-EQUIP ITS ENGINEERING BATTALION AND AN EXPANDING PROFESSIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM IN THE U.S. FOR KEY SENEGALESE MILITARY PERSONNEL.

-- THERE IS ROOM FOR THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES TO DO MORE TO DISCOURAGE SOVIET/CUBAN INTERVENTION. CUBA COULD BE DRUMMED OUT OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, IN VIEW OF ITS SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP TO THE SOVIET UNION.

-- WE ARE INTERESTED IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL DEFENSE PLEDGES SIGNED BY THE WEST AFRICAN COMMUNITY STATES IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS, AND WOULD BE HAPPY TO SEE WHERE WE CAN BE HELPFUL IN PROMOTING REGIONAL SECURITY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DAKAR 03566 02 OF 03 112346Z

THROUGH THOSE VEHICLES.

#### 8. ECONOMIC QUESTIONS--

AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF BOTH SENEGAL AND THE SAHEL STATES, SENGHOR WILL WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE REGION'S DESPERATE REQUIREMENT FOR WATER. HE WILL PRAISE THE U.S. FOR DOING EXCELLENT WORK TO HELP THE RURAL POOR IN SENEGAL. SENGHOR WILL POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THE ONLY WAY TO FIND A PERMANENT SOLUTION TO THE CYCLICAL DROUGHT PROBLEM IS TO HARNESS THE AVAILABLE WATER IN THE RIVER VALLEYS WHICH RISE IN AREAS OF GREATER RAINFALL. THIS WILL REQUIRE MAJOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS-- DAMS, IRRIGATION WORKS AND HYDROELECTRIC SCHEMES. HE WILL ARGUE THAT THE US SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THESE PROJECTS IF WE WANT TO END THE REGION'S DEPENDENCE ON DONATED FOOD WHICH, IN ANY EVENT, CANNOT BE AVAILABLE INDEFINITELY.

EMBASSY RECOMMENDS FOLLOWING RESPONSE:

-- WE ARE PLEASED TO KNOW THAT US EFFORTS IN THE SAHEL ARE HELPING THE RURAL POOR.

-- OUR EXPERIENCE IN THE PAST WITH MAJOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN POSITIVE. THAT IS WHY WE CURRENTLY HAVE A POLICY OF CONCENTRATING ON DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO THE RURAL POOR.

-- NEVERTHELESS, ARGUMENTS FOR HARNESSING RIVERS IN THE SAHEL TO PROVIDE IRRIGATION AND POWER ARE PERSUASIVE. WE ARE NOW LOOKING INTO THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING AN APPROPRIATE CONTRIBUTION.

. NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE--

THE DAKAR COMMODITIES CONFERENCE THREE YEARS AGO WAS  
ONE OF THE DECISIVE STEPS IN THE FORMULATION OF THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DAKAR 03566 02 OF 03 112346Z

GROUP OF 77'S CALL FOR A NEW INTERANTIONAL ECONOMIC  
ORDER (NIEC), TO WHICH SENGHOR IS DEEPLY COMMITTED. HE  
BELIEVES INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES FEEL IT IS PERFECTLY NATURAL  
FOR THIRD WORLD SOCIYJJCLQN NANTRET A LOWER LEVEL OF  
ECONOMIC WELL-BEING, AND INSISTS THAT THERE MUST BE A  
FUNDAMENTAL TRANSFORMATION OF THIS PREJUDICED PERSPECTIVE;  
ACCORDINGLY, WITH HIS GIFT FOR RHETORICAL FLOURISHES,  
HE OFTEN ARGUES THAT A "NEW INTER ATIONAL CULTURAL ORDER"  
IS NECESSARY IF AN NIEC IS TO COME INTO BEING. SENGHOR  
IS CONVINCED THAT THE TERMS OF TRADE ARE CONSTANTLY  
DETERIORATING FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND SUPPORTS  
THE IDEA OF INE LATION WTD#OTHER NIEC ELEMENTS. MORE IN  
SORROW THAN IN ANGER, HE IS LIKELY TO QUESTION THE "VOLONTE"  
OF THE U.S. TO RESPOND IN SERIOUS FASHION TO THE WIDENING  
NORTH-SOUTH GAP. WE LEAVE IT TO THE DEPARTMENT TO DEVISE  
APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE FOR RESPMNDING TO ISSUES IN THIS  
GENERAL AREA.

NOTE BY OC/T: # AS RECEIVED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DAKAR 03566 03 OF 03 112309Z  
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INR-10 SS-15 SP-02 EUR-12 ARA-10  
SY-05 PM-05 HA-05 IO-13 MCE-00 /088 W  
-----075852 120018Z /73

R 111521Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4079

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 DAKAR 3566

STADIS FOR AF/W

10 QUESTIONS THAT PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY MAY WISH TO  
RAISE:

DEMOGRAPHICS. SENGHOR IS REPORTED TO BE IN FAVOR OF FAMILY PLANNING FOR SENEGAL. THIS WOULD BE A GOOD OCCASION TO INDICATE THAT WE ASSIGN HIGH PRIORITY TO FAMILY PLANNING AND TO ASK SENGHOR WHAT HE HOPES TO ACCOMPLISH IN THIS AREA.

-- HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFRICA. AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF ONE OF THE BEST HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS IN AFRICA, WHAT CAN SENGHOR SAY ABOUT THE WORST OFFENDERS LIKE AMIN AND MACIAS. WHAT CAN AFRICA DO ABOUT SUCH ABERRATIONS WITHIN THE OAU CONTEXT?

-- PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN AFRICA. THERE DOES NOT SEEM TO BE AS GREAT AN INTEREST IN AFRICA AMONG PRIVATE INVESTORS AS THERE WAS IN THE SIXTIES. THE RECESSION IN THE OECD COUNTRIES APPEARS TO PROVIDE ONLY A PARTIAL EXPLANATION FOR THIS RELUCTANCE. WHAT CAN AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS DO TO RESTIMULATE PRIVATE INVESTOR INTEREST AND CONFIDENCE?

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DAKAR 03566 03 OF 03 112309Z

-- SENEGAL HAS BEEN VERY REASONABLE IN PURCHASING ARMS. VOLUMES HAVE BEEN SMALL, AND THE LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION IS RATIONAL FOR SENEGAL'S REQUIREMENTS. FMS LOAN FUNDS MADE AVAILABLE BY THE USG, FOR EXAMPLE, WERE UTILIZED TO PURCHASE ROAD BUILDING EQUIPMENT FOR ARMY ENGINNERRING CIVIC ACTION PROGRAMS. IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S DESIRE TO DECREASE CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD, HOW CAN OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES BE ENCOURAGED TO FOLLOW SENEGAL'S EXAMPLE. CAN REGIONAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS, SUCH AS THOSE SUGGESTED BY RECENT NON-AGGRESSION AGREEMENTS IN ECOWAS AND THE CEAO, SERVE AS APPROPRIATE VEHICLES TO HELP DECREASE WASTEFUL ARMS PURCHASES?  
COHEN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN



## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978DAKAR03566  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780201-0294  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** DAKAR  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780570/aaaachpt.tel  
**Line Count:** 323  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 8e2e8ea0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 27 apr 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2726620  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SENGHOR VISIT: EMBASSY INPUT FOR BRIEFING MEMORANDA  
**TAGS:** OVIP, SG, US, (SENGHOR, LEOPOLD S)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/8e2e8ea0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014